423 obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he
[425] is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 692 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litigation is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 622 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 643 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

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1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

● 281

leopard are used as dance ornaments by the intore pages.

224 643 the otter (inzibyi or igihura), the marsh antelope (mpala), the "bush bock" (inzole), the lion, and the leopard, as well as ivory tusks.

[622] If a wild beast such as a lion or leopard has been killed, its skin must be turned over to the chief who in exchange gives the hunters a sterile cow as ingororano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 48.

224 622 643 When the hill chief hunts with his people, he keeps some of the skins and gives the others to the provincial chief, who in turn keeps some of them and, if he considers it advantageous to himself, sends the others to the Mwami. If the hill chief has killed a lion or a leopard, the skin must be turned over to the Mwami. If there are two skins they are divided between the king and the provincial chief. The [45] hill chief may keep a leopardskin only if the hunt has been particularly fruitful.

224 The native who has killed three elephants has the sole right to the tusks of the third animal killed.

224 825 Finally, a hunter is forbidden to take any part of a crocodile he has killed. The animal with its paws loaded with stones must be thrown to the bottom of the river, for the Banyarwanda believe that the body of the saurian contains a violent poison and they want to prevent its being used.

224 When an animal is pointed out, the beaters who have gone forward into the thickets where they are almost invisible and the hunters who have followed them must indicate their presence by a low whistle. Hunting accidents are regulated by customary law (1).

1. Cf. Penal Law, p. 98.

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting"
[171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

231 Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are considered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised
[281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi
[262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have
[262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but
[231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and
[782] placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very
281 simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather. First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully. When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece, with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19, p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair is not removed.

326 177 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe. [412] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes [411] were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that 135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained 316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19, 325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The 326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas. [439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

287 [178] Preparation of Barkcloth. The making of barkcloth (mpuzu) seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers [413] (imango) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

●281 [159] Dressing Skins. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (mbaro). This process is known as kuhara. The first layer that is removed is called imishishwa; the second imiharamuro; the third, inkuru. After that the pierced edge is

●281 cut off, the skin is rubbed with cow dung and it is put aside for two or three days. Later it is combed and smoothed out with minyonza. This process is known as kubiutsa inshundo zinganda. The skin is then rubbed thoroughly with butter and sprinkled with red earth which has been soaked in water (kitaka ch'inkanda). The particles remaining after this has dried are mixed with butter. When the skin has been prepared thus far, patterns are sewn on it with an iron needle. Cattle tendons are used as thread. This work is called kukana nganda. Originally the needle had no eye; it was a sort of awl of the type which is also used to remove sand fleas (mafunza). At

[H3]

Fig. 51. Awl from Mulera. (1/3 actual size. III E 13732. 24 1/2 centimeters long.)

its opposite end it has a knife to cut the skins. Finally, the skin must be perfumed. For this purpose the sweet-scented wood called imibavu ihumura is used. This wood is burned in a sherd (luggio) on red-hot coals. Above the fire a wide-meshed plaited basket (lutete) is placed upside down, like a dome. The skin is stretched over the basket and thus exposed to the smoke. This completes the dressing. The skins of goats and sheep are dressed with less care but along the same lines.

463 Trade. The division of labor in Ruanda is on a comparatively high level. The socio-political situation itself produces a diversity of occupations among the subjugated Bahutu and the ruling Batutsi, but we must not forget that agriculture among the Bahutu and cattle raising among the Batutsi are basically independent and have little relation to each other economically.

[160] The division of labor is not sufficiently advanced in Ruanda to give rise to any great economic independence, with the exception of the king who has large holdings in land and cattle. Most articles are made for home consumption.